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no other possible mode by which this can be effected so speedily as by prompt admission. The will of the majority is supreme and irre-

possible, when expressed in an orderly and lawful manner. They can make and unmake Constitutions at pleasure. It would be absurd to say that they can impose fetters upon their own power, which they cannot afterwards remove. If they could do this, they might tie their own hands for a hundred as well as for ten years. These are fundamental principles of human freedom, and are recognised, I believe, in every form or other, by every State Constitution; and if Congress, in the act of admission, should think proper to rescind them, I can perceive no objection to such a course. This has been done emphatically in the Constitution of Kansas. It declares, in the bill of rights, that "all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on that authority and instituted for their benefit, and therefore they have at all times an inalienable and undefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish, their form of Government, in such manner as they may think proper." The great State of New York is at the moment governed under a Constitution framed and established in direct opposition to the one prescribed by the previous Constitution. If, therefore, the proposition changing the Kansas Constitution after the year 1864 could by possibility be construed into a prohibition to make a change previous to that period, this prohibition would be unavailing. The Legislature already elected may, at its very session, submit the question to a vote of the people, whether they will or will not have a Convention to amend the Constitution, and adopt all necessary means for giving effect to the popular will.

It has been solemnly adjudged, by the highest judicial tribunal known to our laws, that Slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore, at this moment, as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina. Without this, the equality of the sovereign States composing the Union would be violated, and the princi-

acquisition of a Territory acquired by the common treasure of all the States would be closed against the people and the property of nearly half the members of the Confederacy. Slavery can therefore never be prohibited in Kansas, except by means of a constitutional provision; and in no other manner can this be accomplished so promptly (if a majority of the people desire it) as by admitting it into the Union under its present Constitution.

On the other hand, should Congress reject the Constitution, under the idea of affording the dissatisfied in Kansas a third opportunity of prohibiting Slavery in that State (which they might have done twice before, if in the majority), no man can foretell the consequences. If Congress, for the sake of those men who refused to vote for Slavery to the Convention, when they might have excluded Slavery from the Constitution, and who afterwards refused to vote on the 31st December last, when they sought to say claim to have withdrawn from the Constitution, should now reject the State, because Slavery remains in the Constitution, it is manifest that the agitation upon this dangerous subject will be renewed in an alarming form than it has ever yet assumed.

Every patriot in the country had indulged the hope that the Kansas and Nebraska act would put a final end to the Slavery question, at least in Congress, which had for more than twenty years convulsed the country and endangered the Union. This act involved great and fundamental principles, and, if carried into effect, will settle the question. Should the agitation be again revived,—should the people of the sister States again estranged from each other with more than their former bitterness—this will arise from a cause, so far as the interests of Kansas are concerned, more trifling and insignificant than has ever stirred the elements of a great people into commotion.

To the people of Kansas, the only practical difference between admission or rejection depends simply upon the fact, whether they themselves more speedily change the present Constitution, if it does not accord with the will of the majority, or frame a second Constitution to be submitted to Congress hereafter. And even if this were a question of mere expediency, and not of right, the small difference of time,

In considering this question, it should never be forgotten that—in proportion to its insignificance, let the decision be what it may, so far as it may affect the few thousand inhabitants of Kansas who have been the beginning result of the Constitution and the law—for this very reason the rejection of the Constitution will be so much the more keenly felt by the people of fourteen of the States of this Union where Slavery is recognised under the Constitution of the United States.

Again, the speedy admission of Kansas into the Union would restore peace and quiet to the whole country. Already the affairs of this territory have engrossed an undue proportion of public attention. They have sadly affected the friendly relations of the people of the States with each other, and alarmed the friends

trios for the safety of the Union. Kansas once admitted into the Union, the excitement becomes localized, and will soon die away for want of outside aliment. Then every difficulty will be settled at the ballot-box.

Besides, and this is no trifling consideration, I shall then be enabled to withdraw the troops of the United States from Kansas, and employ them on branches of service where they are much needed. They have been kept there, on the earnest importunity of Governor Geary, to maintain the existence of the Territorial Government, and secure the execution of the laws. He considered that at least two thousand regular troops, under the command of General Geary, were necessary for this purpose. Acting upon his reliable information, I have been obliged, to some degree, to interfere with the expedition to Diah in order to keep down the insurrec-

Kansas. This has involved a very heavy expenditure to the Government. Kansas once admitted, it is believed Kansas will not be so any occasion there for troops of the United States.

I have thus performed my duty on this important question, under a deep sense of my responsibility to God and my country. My public life will terminate within a brief period; and I have no other object of earthly ambition than to leave my country in a better condition than I found it, and to live in the affections and respect of my countrymen. The dark and ominous clouds which now appear to be impending over the Union, I conscientiously believe may be dissipated with honor to every portion of it, by the admission of Kansas during the present session of Congress; whereas, if she should be rejected, I greatly believe

clouds will become darker and more ominous than any which have ever yet threatened the Constitution and the Union.

**JAMES BUCHANAN.**  
WASHINGTON, February 2, 1858.

Among the deaths announced by the last steamer, was that of Boeschia Pasha, one of the most eminent political personages of the Ottoman Empire. He was born in 1802. He was twice ambassador to the Western Powers, and several times held the appointments of Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs. His efforts were mostly directed to introducing civilization and reforms into Turkey, thereby drawing on himself a great deal of enmity. But his

ability made him necessary to the Government, and he was frequently in the cabinet, and much respected by the late and present Sultans. He was a very moral man, a discoverer, and the Turkish habit of keeping a hareem, and was the husband of one wife, by whom he had a family. His chief fault was, that he was too mild and tender-hearted, and not sufficiently energetic for the trying times in which he lived, and the reckless adventures that ever surrounded the Court. He was of middle stature, had a handsome countenance, good eyes, and fine head.











